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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

CALIBAN IN THE COAL MINES

God, we don't like to complain
  We know that the mine is no lark—
But—there's the pools from the rain;
  But—there's the cold and the dark.

God, You don't know what it is—
  You, in Your well-lighted sky,
Watching the meteors whizz;
  Warm, with the sun always by.

God, if You had but the moon
  Stuck in Your cap for a lamp,
Even You'd tire of it soon,
  Down in the dark and the damp.

Nothing but blackness above,
  And nothing that moves but the cars—
God, if You wish for our love,
  Fling us a handful of stars!

—*Louis Untermeyer.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIV THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1919 Number 14

TRUST THE GREAT ARTIST.

Trust the Great Artist. He
Who paints the sky and sea
With shadowed blue, who clothes the land
In garb of green, and in the spring
Sets all earth blossoming—
He guides your destiny.

The magic Hand
That colors dawn with flaming rose,
That ere the falling night,
For every soul's delight,
Pours out the streaming gold—
That Hand too holds your life.

His grasp amid the strife
Would shape you to His will;
Let Him His wish fulfil.
What though the testings irk,
Fret not. Mar not His work.

Trust the Great Artist. He
Who does all lovingly
Has not ordained despair
For those who trust His care!

—Thomas Curtis Clark.

With the nationalistic plea which wrecked the Treaty of Peace in the United States Senate, Unity has not the slightest sympathy. In the true spirit inherited by us from Jenkin Lloyd Jones, we look for the coming of a day which shall see the establishment of a great international organization, a far-flung political brotherhood, into which America will gladly enter, and to which she will surrender her independent sovereignty as an offering on the altar of that universal republic which will be but "the lengthened shadow" of herself. Had the Treaty of Peace, and more especially the League Covenant, given any promise of this day, the public opinion of America would have rallied to them with one accord, and made their rejection for any reason impossible. But every hour of discussion of these documents, every deeper probe into their inner meanings, only served to make more clear the fact that no such promise was to be found. On the contrary, not promise but threat was written all over and through the work of the Paris Conference. The Treaty and Covenant marked the restoration of an old and hated international order. It established on a new basis the ancient system of conquest and imperial domination. By an arbitrary rearrangement of peoples, and spheres of influence, and political and commercial alliances, it prepared the way for quarrels which broke out before the documents were signed, and scattered abroad seeds of future wars which even now are sprouting. The Paris Conference, in other words, did nothing but restore on somewhat new lines the old European system of 1914. This President Wilson and his supporters tried to conceal in a "smoke-screen" of soothing words—but the truth could not be hidden! What became evident was that the United States was being asked to plunge into the entanglements and embroilments of a Europe that had learned nothing from the War, and this Americans would never consent to do. We would make any sacrifice for the higher interests of human welfare, as in the War itself, but our men and money were not to be at the disposal of European diplomats for the settlement of dynastic difficulties. We saw, in other words, what the Treaty was—a betrayal of mankind; and with an instinct as true and fine as anything known in American history, we washed our hands of its abominations. That the Senators saw this issue, is not to be supposed; except in a few instances, their procedure was on a low plane of thought and endeavor. But they were held to their task by a public instinct which is a fresh vindication of democracy, and thus did better than they knew.

"A large part of the German and Austrian people must inevitably die of starvation," says Sir George Paish. If this statement had been made a year or more ago, during war-time, how great would have been our jubilation. At that time, a large part of the population of the Allied countries was praying that the Germans and Austrians might be utterly wiped out. But today we hear this prophecy with no satisfaction. On the contrary, we hear it with alarm—not because we have suddenly become kind or forgiving, but because we have begun to recover some of the sanity lost during the period of hostilities. For, says Sir George, continuing his testimony, "if the German and Austrian people are largely destroyed, nothing can save the other nations of Europe from destruction also." This certainly is very different from what we were told during the War. At that time, the destruction of Germans and Austrians was described as necessary, if civilization was to be saved; and we did our best to compass this destruction by every military means that could be harnessed to the task. Now we are told that not the destruction but the preservation of Germans and Austrians is necessary, if this same civilization is again to be saved, and we are exhorted to rush food, medicines, loans, across the seas, that they may be kept alive, not for their sakes but for our own. Was there ever a more ludicrous topsy-turvy than this? Either we were mad yester-

day, or we are mad today; war or peace, one or the other, is lunacy. Nor should it be difficult to solve the dilemma.

The convention of the American Labor Party, which met in Chicago in the last week of November, and the convention of the Committee of 48, which is announced to gather in St. Louis next week, are two closely-related events of prime importance in the history of contemporary American democracy. As mere protests against the tyrannous reaction now dominant in Washington and throughout the country, these assemblies bring back cheer and courage to the heart. They show that, in spite of every sign, liberalism is not altogether dead; there are still Americans who dare to speak of freedom and progress. But more important than anything that they signify for the present is all that they portend for the future of our republic. Here is a new movement, gathering as the Republican movement gathered in 1856. Here are the people rising not in answer to the call of a popular leader, but in service of a great cause of human emancipation. Disgusted with the two great political parties which are together the bond-servants of capitalistic oppression, outraged by the tragedy of the War and its reaction of economic and militaristic tyranny, committed definitely to vast changes in the social order to the end of the complete democratization of industry, the men and women in these two conventions represent millions throughout the land, who only await organization and leadership to accomplish such an overturn as America has not known in all her history. What can be accomplished in the immediate future, in the way of platforms, presidential and congressional candidates, etc., is still doubtful. The proceedings of the St. Louis convention will be momentous, especially as revealing what integration can be achieved between these two hitherto independent and spontaneous movements. But that a new era has struck in American politics, destined sooner or later to open up stupendous changes in American life, is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun. Let brain and hand combine in one vast movement of constructive revolt, and the future will be made as bright as it is now dark.

The condition of the American press today is very largely to be attributed to deliberate intent of evil, as we have pointed out more than once in these columns. Every now and then, however, evidence comes to hand that ignorance, as well as wickedness, must bear its share of responsibility. The N. Y. *Sun*, for example, one of the most intelligent newspapers in America, sent a special staff correspondent to Chicago to cover the Labor Party Convention. The man chosen for this task might be supposed to be a journalist thoroughly competent to understand and report the significance of this gathering. In his despatch, dated November 23rd, however, he writes that the men and women in the Convention "hope to found their party on the fundamental economic laws laid down by Marx, Spencer, Huxley and Mill"! One explanation of such an astounding statement as this is that this correspondent regards the members of the National Labor Party as a group of miracle workers, for certainly no power short of that of raising the dead could write a platform reconciling the teachings of the four men named. Another explanation, and of course the certain one, is this—that the journalist chosen to interpret the Chicago convention to as intelligent a newspaper *clientele* as exists in America, is flatly ignorant of even the first elements of economic history. When one sees the names of Marx and Spencer thus linked together, as though there were no longer north and south, black and white, one wonders by what happy chance the name of Spencer was spelled with a "c" and not an "s"!

It is good to see the Federal Council of Churches interposing in the steel strike in behalf of freedom of speech and assembly. Rev. Worth M. Tippy, Executive Secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Council, has addressed to Gov. Sproul, of Pennsylania, a communication, in which he says:

> In various steel towns in the State of Pennsylvania, the right of assemblage and free speech, even within buildings, has been and is being denied by various authorities. The consequences of such denial are to discredit the institutions of the United States among immigrant workers, and to weaken the leadership of those who seek needed industrial change by constitutional methods.

This is a statement of fact and consequence which may well be pondered not only by the Governor of Pennsylvania, but by all officials of government everywhere. The Federal Council is worthy its Christian name when engaged in work of this kind.

> I am wondering if most of our Unitarian churches are not after all merely little class churches without any very vital realization of the meaning and scope of spiritual democracy. I know that from many of them the spirit of life has departed, and that they are simply moving forward on the momentum of the past.

Thus writes to us a faithful and efficient Unitarian clergyman, of more than twenty years' service in the ministry, who now seems impelled to enter into some form of social service. He does not want to leave the church.

> "I should much prefer," he writes, "to keep in touch with the religious aspects of this work, for I feel that without the inspiration of a vital religious faith, most of this social work becomes merely mechanical. That is why I have remained in the liberal ministry, because it seemed to present just this opportunity for an emphasis upon the religious motive."

But now he questions as to whether it is worth while remaining any longer. The churches which he knows are not vital. They hold no spirit of vision and heroic endeavor. They make no answer to the eager challenge of men's hearts for a better and fairer world, but repose in dull and acquiescent content with things as they are. *"Little class churches without any vital*

realization of the meaning and scope of spiritual democracy"—how true this is, not merely, of Unitarian churches, but of the great mass of churches of all denominations today! For Unitarianism has no monopoly of this parlous condition of decay and death. It is not a case of liberalism passing and orthodoxy flourishing. The whole world of Protestantism is smitten, for reasons common to all sects and faiths alike. There is a vast momentum of tradition and practice gathered from the past, which still gives the semblance of active life in many places. Great inheritances of property still support movements which, if obliged to be sustained by the living and not the dead hand, would perish tomorrow. Hysterical denominational machines gather great sums of money from interests to which the church is pre-eminently useful as a stabilizing or conserving influence. But life—creative, adventurous, spiritual life—has long since gone out, and real men like our correspondent, know it. One thing is certain, that Protestantism needs today a revolutionary experience as cataclysmic as that which Martin Luther brought upon medieval Catholicism.

UNITY welcomes again to this country Dr. Joseph Fort Newton, who is just now entering upon his new pastorate in the Church of the Divine Paternity, New York. This church is one which has been glorified by the service of such men as Dr. Chapin, Dr. Eaton, and Dr. Frank Oliver Hall. It is a great succession, but we count Dr. Newton to be worthy of it in every way. The brief and unhappy ministry at the City Temple, London, dims not at all a noble record made in America and destined to be fulfilled in America. We anticipate that Dr. Newton will at once take rank among the leading preachers of New York City, and trust that he will be content to hold this place through many years to come.

"How the War Came"

Two very remarkable books have recently been published in England; books that are vital to the student whose business it is to gather up the threads of events which disturbed Europe before August 1914. These books come not from the pens of publicists who have been connected with the propaganda departments of belligerent governments; indeed they refute in an almost heartless manner the carefully concocted stories put together solely for the purpose of deluding people who will not do their own political thinking. We shall, perhaps, have now to read another class of literature on this subject, for Bureaux of Information are moribund, their wells are dry, and the busy staffs are gone back to the political obscurity from which they came. What the legal luminaries, who dealt second-hand with the inspired reports issued from European capitals, will do when they are asked to reply to such works as Lord Loreburn's, "How the War Came," and Lord Fisher's, "Memories," is a question which would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer.

Lord Loreburn, the author of "How the War Came," was an English barrister of great repute, Robert Threshie Reid. He entered the House of Commons in 1880; he was Solicitor-General, and, afterwards, Attorney-General in the Liberal government of 1892-95. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was called upon to form a government in 1905, Robert Reid accepted the Lord Chancellorship, and took the title of Earl Loreburn. He was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's most intimate friend. These facts are important for they bear directly on a matter which has been discussed with great bitterness, not in the press, but among the friends of the two factions of the Liberal party as it was before the General Election of 1906. The matter we refer to concerns the relations of the British and French foreign offices from 1906 to 1914, and the question whether the British cabinet had given consent to the arrangement made in 1906 by Sir Edward Grey and M. Paul Cambon, the French ambassador at London, for the British and French military and naval staffs to enter into "conversations." Lord Loreburn, in dealing with the speech Sir Edward made to the House on August 3rd, 1914, says:

> ". . . the authorization Sir Edward then gave the military and naval conversations between our officers and those of France, were not told even to the Cabinet. But it is right on such a point to quote Sir Edward Grey's own statement, which will be found in the same speech.
>
> "Sir Edward said: . . . 'As I have told the House, upon that occasion a General Election was in prospect: I had to take the responsibility of doing that without the Cabinet. It could not be summoned. An answer had to be given. I consulted Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister: I consulted, I remember, Lord Haldane, who was then Secretary of State for War, and the present Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith), who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was the most I could do and they authorized that, on the distinct understanding that it left the hands of the Government free whenever the crisis arose. The fact that conversations between military and naval experts took place was later on—I think much later on, because that crisis passed and the thing ceased to be of importance—but later on it was brought to the knowledge of the Cabinet.' He does not say when. We are considering what was the policy which preceded and guided this country into war, and even the briefest paren-

thesis ought to be avoided if possible. But one of Sir Edward Grey's then colleagues may be permitted, in view of his statement about withholding the information from the Cabinet, to offer certain criticisms. Sir Edward's phraseology rather conveys that his selection of confidants was casual. But Mr. Asquith and Lord Haldane were with himself Vice-President of the Liberal League, a continuation of the Liberal Imperialist movement which had supported the South African War and opposed Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on that subject.

"There was no difficulty whatever in summoning the Cabinet during the Election to consider so grave a matter. A good many members of the Cabinet were in London or within an hour of it, while those whom he consulted were at a distance. And there are railways and post offices in Great Britain. The weekly meetings of the Cabinet were regular in December, 1905, and were held on 3rd and 31st January, 1906. From 1st February they were again regular throughout the year 1906. The Cabinet might have been told within a very short time.

"The Cabinet met in January, 1906. They might then have been told of the 'conversations' between military experts, and of the statement made to the two Ambassadors of which latter Sir Edward does not say that they were ever informed at all. The military conversations must have lasted some time, and after January, 1906 the Cabinet was meeting regularly.

"Sir Edward does not say when these 'conversations' between experts were brought to the knowledge of the Cabinet, whether it was months or years, and how many years later.

"The reason he apparently gives for not informing the Cabinet, which he says 'could not then be summoned,' as soon as it did meet (31st January), is that 'that crisis passed and the thing ceased to be of importance.' On the contrary, events have unhappily proved that it was of the utmost abiding importance. It was the first recorded communication pointing to our making war on behalf of France if she should come to blows with Germany.

"The thing of which Sir Edward Grey made light proved to be the parting of the ways in our relations with France. Enmity had already given place to goodwill, but we had not yet espoused the quarrel of France or held out the prospect of fighting by her side. In the beginning of 1906 her statesmen learned that even this was possible. This concealment from the Cabinet was protracted, and must have been deliberate. Parliament knew nothing of it till 3rd August, 1914, nor anything of the change in policy which the suppressed communications denoted."

No one who knew Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman believed for a single moment that he had been informed of the "conversations" by anybody in an official position, for the whole policy of his government, up to the time of his death in the spring of 1908, was totally opposed to any understanding with France, of the nature suggested by the foreign minister. Anyway Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was dead when Sir Edward Grey told the House of Commons that he had consulted him about the military and naval understandings of the British and French staffs. Lord Loreburn is exceedingly polite in the way that he disposes of Sir Edward Grey's allegation. He says:

> "This was the end, after many years, of the policy inaugurated by Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Haldane, when within a month of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government taking office they seceretly commenced military and naval conversations with France for contingent common action against Germany. Sir Edward Grey has affirmed that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was consulted on this at the time. Some of those who knew Sir Henry-Campbell-Bannerman and were in close confidential communication with him in December, 1905, and January, 1906, will not believe that he understood the scope and significance of what was in fact done, unless some evidence of it is given."

Lord Loreburn's treatment of the Belgian question, prior to August 4th, when the German forces invaded Belgium, is along the lines laid down in "How Diplomats Make War." He says Britain was not bound by treaty to defend Belgium against invasion. "For the sake of historical accuracy, however, it is right to say that we were not so bound either by the Treaty of 1839 or by any other instrument." Further on he says, "as soon as the Germans did attack Belgium the whole of the Ministerial Press and the Ministerial Speakers with few exceptions dwelt upon that as the reason for the war. It was perhaps natural on their part to select this argument. The best way of obtaining popular support for the war, which in the days of voluntary recruiting was of the highest importance, would be to dwell on an outrage which could admit of no excuse. But this does not alter facts."

So much for the notion, popularized by the official propagandist, of the disinterested part that Great Britain took in the war. It is not strange that we have heard nothing from the American reviewers of this book and of Lord Fisher's "Memories." Presumably we are still too young to understand what all the terrible business was about. Every other country on the face of the earth may discuss at will any of these momentous questions, but the land of the free

and the brave must seemingly be kept in ignorance of them while we debate the wisdom or unwisdom of our being parties to the Paris covenant and the so-called Treaty of Peace. Was there ever such a preposterous condition of affairs recorded of an intelligent democracy? The question that is uppermost in the minds of every person of refinement is, "How is such a catastrophe to be avoided in future?" Naturally, every one in this country who has suffered from loss of life and treasure hopes fervently for the destruction of the old system practiced in Europe which was the cause of this war. And now that America is enmeshed in the toils of the European system these people desire above all an open diplomacy, honest publicity, and full legislative control of all the services. They regard full legislative control of spheres of military and naval activity as indispensable to a new system in world politics. Yes, but how on earth the American people can expect to avoid such catastrophes in the future without having a thorough knowledge of how this one was brought about cannot be explained. The trouble seems to be that we are the last of the peoples to relinquish what Lord Robert Cecil calls the "war mind." So many of us seem to linger in the stage of war patriotism, instead of advancing to that of peace patriotism. Not until we have regained our calm senses, and make up our minds, no matter what we have been told in the past, to understand this whole matter, understand it at all costs, shall we be able to take any effective part at all in inaugurating a system that will make such another catastrophe impossible. It is with this object in view that Lord Loreburn has published his work.

Lord Fisher, however, in publishig his book has quite another object and purpose. Who is Lord Fisher? Well, his title on the book is, Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Fisher. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean station in 1902; Second Sea Lord of the Admiralty, 1903; Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, 1904; and First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty from 1904 to 1910. He was also a member of the Imperial Defense Committee. He certainly was in a position to know what was going on. "Blunt, honest, Jack" Fisher was a fighting man, and at no time in his career did he pretend to be a pacifist. In an interview given to the late W. T. Stead he stated quite frankly the principles which would guide him in war. He said, "If you rub it in both at home and abroad that you are ready for instant war, with every unit of your strength in the first line and waiting to be first in and hit your enemy, and kick him when he is down, and boil your prisoners in oil (if you take any), and torture his women and children, then people will keep clear of you!" There are no mealy-mouth, namby-pamby, notions of what have been called Christian methods of warfare about "Jack" Fisher.

His book when it lands in this country will cause more consternation and shock than any amount of 16-inch shells. Those persons who swallowed whole the yarns of German preparedness made for the purpose of crushing the Allies and dominating the world, had better take a rest cure before they read, "Memories." Here is a sample of Fisher's brutal candor:

> "In May, 1907, England had seven 'Dreadnoughts' ready for battle, and Germany had not one. And England had flotillas of submarines peculiarly adapted to the shallower German waters when Germany had none.
>
> "Even in 1908 Germany had only four submarines. At that time, in the letter I wrote to King Edward, I approached His Majesty, and quoted certain opposite sayings of Mr. Pitt about dealing with the probable enemy before he got too strong. It is admitted that it was not quite a gentlemanly sort of thing for Nelson to go and destroy the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen without notice, but *la raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure.*
>
> "Therefore, in view of the known steadfast German purpose, as always unmitigatedly set forth by the German High Authority that it was Germany's set intention to make even England's mighty Navy hesitate at sea, it seemed to me simply a sagacious act on England's part to seize the German Fleet when it was so very easy of accomplishment in the manner I sketched out to His Majesty, and probably without bloodshed."

There is much more of this kind of confession in which Fisher seemingly delights to revel. He tells the story of the plan to land, several years before the war began, 100,000 Russian troops on the Pomeranian Coast. And so on. Another precious bit of information is the following note from Lord Fisher to Lord Esher:

> "*Secret.* Tirpitz asked a mutual civilian friend living in Berlin to inquire very privately of me whether I would agree to limiting size of guns and size of ships, as this is *vital* to the Germans, who *can't go* bigger than the Dreadnoughts in guns or size. I wrote back by return of post yesterday morning. 'Tell him I'll see him d——d first!' (*Them's the very words!*) I wonder what Wilhelm will say to that if Tirpitz shows him the letter!"

A startling link in this historical chain of events which now prove beyond doubt that secret military and naval understandings were the undoing of Europe. There is evidence in abundance now to prove this. Much of this evidence has been placed before the readers of UNITY, evidence, not from German sources, but from the chief military advisors of the European Allies. We have from time to time dealt with it as

we have found it in Lord French's, "1914"; the letters of General Sir Henry Wilson and Marshal Foch; the testimony given by Marshal Joffre before the Metallurgic Committee at Paris, etc., etc.

The story of European secret diplomacy is complete. As Lord Loreburn says, it had every opportunity of proving its worth and by every test it has failed. Not one government in Europe has benefited in one single particular by it. And yet the principal Western powers of Europe are at this time absolutely in the hands of military and naval chiefs. Parliamentary control does not exist in this respect in Great Britain or France, and there lies America's greatest danger. It is time we clearly understood what it means to leave our destinies in the hands of these people. Let us glance once more at the famous letter written by Lord Esher, the friend and confidant of Edward VII., to the Glasgow *Herald* on August 10, 1915. Lord Esher says in that letter:

> "From the outset of the war I have been thrown into the company of practically every one of our leading statesmen, and I have found them all wrong in their forecasts without exception. They genuinely believed in a short war. They prophesied its conclusion in anything from three to nine months. They jeered at a less optimistic view, and hardly one of them but held that before now (August, 1915) the British Army, accompanied by political plenitopentiaries, would be marching through Berlin."

The evidence is conclusive that the military and naval chiefs of all the European powers without exception are, as plotters, planners, and prophets, utterly discredited. There they are, quarreling amongst themselves, a spectacle which calls for the well-merited censure they are getting from many of their best friends and most ardent supporters.

Secret diplomacy must go, secret military and naval conversations and understandings must never take place again. We owe it to every lad that was sacrificed in this catastrophe that the rising generation shall not be placed at the mercy of the members of any government service which is not under complete legislative control. FRANCIS NEILSON.

TO YOU IN PRISON.

"The god of battle shall not be our god:
We will not slay, for love nor hate nor hire."
Above the conflict, in the strength of men
Whose vision is beyond the futile ken
Of statecraft's cunning, and its vain desire,
You stand, who have not bowed the knee to Baal
Nor offered up your seed in Moloch's fire!

You stand alone, in bonds, yet unafraid:
They can not slay the truth, although you die.
Though in the pit the mad world struggles on,
Gold-lords against the folk, till dead upon
The dead, you too are piled, the Cause is high
For which you give your lives a sacrifice—
The star of Peace, white in the blood-rimmed sky!

—*Clifford Franklin Gessler*

From "Young Democracy."

CONTRIBUTED

Ellen C. Lloyd-Jones

The death of Ellen C. Lloyd-Jones at Hillside, Wisconsin, removed another of that noble group of women who through schools have helped to shape the better America. She had been unwell for a long time and her advanced years prevented all hope of recovery.

Relatives and neighbors gathered in Unity Chapel Saturday afternoon, November 22nd, to do the last service and to speak a parting tribute. The pulpit of the little chapel was covered with pine boughs and with flowers. The bright day and the wind made one feel that all nature was actively in attendance.

Standing in the churchyard and looking over to the hills encircling the valley the words of the Hebrew lyricist came with new suggestion: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people." Much of the quiet strength of "Aunt Nell," as she was called, found its source in the consciousness of that eternal envelopment. It was the heave in her hopes, the constancy in her poise, the tenderness in her love and the faith in her faithfulness.

The values of her life are to be found in the lives of men and women who came within the circle of her presence. But her devotion to educational standards and her commital to their methods stand out in striking relief. Education became important and its support honorable because of her attitude toward it. Her resolute sacrifices fixed the center of value in persons and not in things, and that, after all, is the one thing needful, especially in villages where the call of work is so loud and insistent. The values we accentuate reveal the degree of our development and the texture of our vision. Ellen Lloyd Jones's attitude toward projects of education was typical of the family attitude toward selected values. Whatever was lifted out of the stream of experience as salient and worthwhile led to devotion and high regard for it as an objective of God. It was this discriminating insight which characterized the father and mother. It was, therefore, native and harmonious that when Aunt Nell decided upon education as her objective that she should give so abandonedly of her energy. And all through shadow and sunshine she lived her dream and saw its creative qualities move and shape the enthusiasm and character of others.

Her memory and her achievement, her dream and her devotion, remain as seeds in life's granary, whence we may sow future harvests. It is given to those who knew her and to those who are indebted to her, as most people who knew her were, to lift the whole quality of her life into the chamber of their highest regard and like Dorcas of old, when carried into the upper chamber, she will be given back to them in new life, new inspiration, refreshment, and the strength that makes strong. JOHN MORRIS EVANS.

His dews drop mutely on the hill,
His cloud above it saileth still,
Though on its slope men sow and reap;
More softly than the dew is shed,
Or cloud is floated overhead,
He giveth His belovèd—sleep.

—E. B. B.

Falling to Rise

The Chinese sage, Confucius, said, "the glory is not in never falling but in rising a little farther ahead every time we fall." Not only do we fall but we are also knocked down very many times in the course of life. Life is not a smooth path. It is a very rough and hard one.

"Life is just the stuff to try one's soul on," wrote the poet and prophet, Robert Browning. There is no use trying to make it appear that life is one glorious triumphant procession for it is not. One need not be a pessimist in order to look the facts of life straight in the face. They are what they are and closing our eyes will not remove them or change their character.

All the glory there is in life has been won by strong and resolute wills. It is only when flint strikes the steel that fire is struck.

We may bemoan our hard luck but that very hard luck is our opportunity to prove ourselves and to discover the stuff of which we are made. We are bound to fall. We may expect to be knocked down. These experiences are not our own private and peculiar griefs. They are experiences common to mankind. They are the opportunities that put the temper into our souls and stiffen our backbones. We may complain about them but they are the material out of which noble and virile life grows. They are what the soul feeds on.

When we fall we all too often spend hours in vain and useless self pity over our misfortune. We forget that it is our business to get up a little farther ahead. We do not remember that we are to learn from our mistake rather than be beaten by it.

We are tempted to make everything as easy as possible for our children. We want to shield them from every storm. We seek to remove from their path every obstacle. But in so doing we take away from them the very condition of development of strong and virile personalities.

The splendor of life is not revealed in whining but in the courage we show in meeting whatever life brings to us. This does not mean that we should spend our time in placing obstacles in the way of others for their soul's good. There are enough rough places in the way without our adding to them. After we have done our best to smooth the paths of life there will be stumbling places without end. And it is well to remember that smoothing the way for all is an entirely different matter from that of smoothing it for a favored few.

Even when we do our best to make the way smooth for others, men will make their own stumbling places. To try to take this privilege from them is futile. We cannot do it. If we could we would take from them the very means of their own development.

These falls of ours are hard experiences. They cause us to cry out with pain. But if we lie down and writhe in our misery we become objects of contempt to our neighbors and lose even our self-respect. We must, if we are to live in any real sense, pick ourselves up and go on with such courage as we possess. This is that which gives life its glory.

Our march may not be accompanied by bands of music. There may not be flags flying at every street corner. But it can be one of which we at least are not ashamed. We can be knocked down but not disheartened. We can be defeated for the moment but not conquered. We can live and learn and that is the business of life. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

What is History?

To anyone who has studied the history of a generation ago the answer is much simpler than for the present generation. History was a chronological arrangements of facts, a record of what is recorded. Too often it was a story of the doings of kings and their armies, too seldom an account of the events surrounding the average man.

But the last generation has done much to put life into history and to make it as it should be, an intimate record of the economic advances, political surroundings and the spiritual aspirations of the common people of the world. Even today, however, the history that finds its way into books is a poor reflection of the developments that shape our daily lives. Much of the material from which real history is made is evanescent. Its importance does not stand out and engage the attention because of the fact that it is made up of so many small things, a part of our common life, the bearing of which on our own time we do not see. Where for example does one find in history a vivid picture of the life of the average family in the middle west in the last half of the nineteenth century? That story is disappearing from the memory of those now living as the intimate history of our grandfathers has now almost entirely disappeared.

Even in international affairs paraded before the public eye there is still a considerable part of true history which disappears with those who made it. For example there occurred during the great conflict just passed not a few acts of disinterestedness which indicate that after all even when we take into consideration the unworthiness of some of the motives shown by the great powers both during the war and in post war politics there is nevertheless a great advance over the conditions of a century ago. An illustration which bids fair not to be recorded in the pages of written history is the attitude adopted by the United States toward those of the Latin American countries which threw in their lot with the allies and particularly the attitude of the United States toward Brazil.

Among the Latin countries perhaps Brazil has shown its friendship toward the United States most constantly. It is the only one of the states of South America which has favored our trade by special concessions in its tariff concessions. These advantages were granted without any return from this country. During the war Brazil was the first of the great South American states to align itself with the powers opposed to Germany, but as the conflict progressed there was every reason to believe that though not an important participant in a military way, Brazil would come to feel the misfortune of war quite as much as the more important belligerents.

The republic was struggling under a heavy burden of debt and for the time could not meet the interest on its foreign loans. Further dependent as it was on its ocean transportation for its chief export trade, the submarine campaign was sure to have serious consequences for Brazil. Its prosperity moreover depended upon its ability to market a few important

products and get manufactured goods in return. These products were not such that she could count on the allies to take them in sufficient quantities to keep her people prosperous. It seemed highly likely therefore that Brazil would suffer the consequences of the war in a peculiarly poignant way.

Coffee, as the central European market was cut off, did not meet its former demand. The supply of coffee in Brazil kept mounting as the war years passed and the price obtainable kept falling. The rubber market was disrupted and the sales of manganese were large but by no means assured.

If the market in these goods broke, as seemed inevitable after the United States entered the war, Brazil would face not only the danger of national bankruptcy but acute hard times among her producers and possibly revolution. With these conditions confronting her there was reason to believe that the largest republic of South America which had come to the aid of the allies would be the keenest sufferer from that action and that the central powers might make on that account propaganda throughout South America by saying to the other states, "Behold what comes to those who fight against us. See how the allies desert the Latin American state which was foolish enough to cast in her lot with them."

Under these conditions those in control of the trade policy of the United States during the war sought to extend favors to Brazil which would enable her to weather the storm which threatened. The granting of these favors could have no economic return to the United States and the motive for their granting is not recorded in any public documents. This country has been regularly the greatest purchaser of Brazilian coffee, and in the broken market of 1918 could have purchased coffee at far below even the peace time prices. But in order to assist the weak but courageous southern neighbor the coffee supply of the United States was purchased at a price almost double that for which it might have been secured. To assure a market for Brazilian rubber practically the entire output was purchased at a price far above that at which East Indian rubber could have been secured, and although the manganese production of the United States could have been stimulated to such a degree that dependence on foreign supplies could be eliminated the policy of assisting Brazil was followed here too, with the result that heavy imports of manganese continued throughout the war.

Without such help Brazil of course could not escape the economic crisis which was otherwise inevitable, but by these actions, taken informally with no record made as to the motives prompting them, a neighborly act was done which should bind the largest republic of South America to the largest republic of the northern continent even more closely than in the past.

But our history perchance may have no record of what was done in this time of stress by one country to aid another. The student who reads the records of the war a generation hence may wonder why the price that was paid was given, but will find no record which he may cite. History after all, even in our own time, is largely a record of what is recorded and dies with those who made it.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES

CORRESPONDENCE

Professor Giddings and Freedom

A Rejoinder

Editor of UNITY:

Sir—It was a pleasant surprise to read in UNITY a reply by Professor Franklin H. Giddings to my article "Giddings for Freedom." I appreciate the Professor's willingness to come to a forum before which his opponent has an equal show and before which he must win or lose solely by the intrinsic merit of his argument. This is a method of controversy which the Professor and his friends did not dare to permit during the war, for the good reason that war cannot stand fair and equal discussion. Therefore do war supporters invariably take away the soap-boxes of their opponents.

I note first of all that Professor Giddings establishes the facts of my original charge. The latter, briefly, was this: that Professor Giddings was silent, as far as any public utterance was concerned, throughout the unparalleled coercion, violation and intimidation of men's consciences during the war, but publicly protested against the destruction of "the free moral agency of a fellow being" when prohibition of the liquor traffic came about in this country.

Professor Giddings protested against prohibition at a public meeting held in the Church of the Ascension, New York City. His remarks were reported prominently in the New York *Times* beneath a bold display heading. Now the whole point of my article, made plain beyond the possibility of dispute, was that if peradventure anywhere at any time Professor Giddings did protest against the wholesale violation of the human conscience during the war his protest received no such publicity as did his arraignment of prohibition on this very score.

Now, what does the Professsor say? In an attempt to refute my charge he cites two books written by himself, one, "The Responsible State," published in 1918, during the war, and the other, "Ethics for Real Persons," in regard to which latter he says "published in 1916, after we had entered the war." Evidently there is some mistake here, either on the part of the Professor or the compositor, but it is in any case unimportant.

I think I may, and without offence, describe both these works as academic. Certainly they cannot be called popular books. I inquired for them in the chief public library in Brooklyn and found that they were not in the institution. I am sure the Professor would not argue that these books could be placed, as a public utterance, against the report of his speech in the New York *Times* with a circulation of some 300,000 copies. So much on the score of public utterance. Now as to the championship of the "free moral agency of a fellow being" in these cited works. Professor Giddings quotes one paragraph from "Ethics for Real Persons." This paragraph is a plea for "legality" and it contains the following sentences:

"Yet the law may be absurd or wicked, and you may be better and wiser than the law makers. If, then, in good conscience, you must defy the law, do so bravely and openly, but regretfully, and on no ac-

count with the vain-minded dare-deviltry of the habitual revolutionist."

This, then, upon his own confession, was the best that Professor Giddings was able to do during the war for freedom of conscience. With all respect to him I doubt whether the young men who languished in the dungeons of Alcatraz, or endured torture of mind and body in other military prisons and camps for conscience' sake, will be greatly impressed by the Professor's valor or stirred by his audacity.

I think it is true to say, that, having regard to the progress which civilization might be presumed to have made by August, 1914, and taking into consideration also the almost world-wide scope of the war, the period we went through was unparalleled in human history for its destruction of "the free moral agency" of human beings. Never was there destruction of freedom on such a scale: never was tyranny so subtle or so cruel. Professor Giddings made many speeches in support of the war, but he is unable to tell us that on any single occasion he uttered one word of protest against what was going on around him.

While taking credit for having done something for freedom of conscience during the war on the strength of two very cautious passages in academic works of restricted circulation, the Professor seems to contend in his reply that the suppression of freedom of speech and other civil liberties, and the destructions of free moral agency, were justified. "When a nation," he says, "is rightfully at war (rightfully as above specified) it is often unfortunately and deplorably necessary (nevertheless necessary) for the time being to curtail individual liberties that never should be curtailed in days of peace."

Of course, the crux of the whole question is whether we were "rightfully at war." Thousands of honest and widely-respected men and women in the United States, and indeed in all countries, denied absolutely that the war was a righteous one. Professor Giddings, like many others, settles this vital question by begging it.

"We are rightfully at war," says the Professor in substance. "We, the majority, have decided that. There is going to be no argument about it. Our view is final and infallible. If your view happens to be different then so much the worse for your view and for you. Argument stops when the house is burning down. Free speech is folly when the ship is sinking."

To this the man whose conscience Professor Giddings allowed to be violated, replies: "The house truly is burning down, but you, Professor, and your friends, insist that it shall burn down and you put every obstacle in the way of those who would man the fire-fighting machinery and who want to put it out. The ship truly is sinking, but you and your friends insist that it shall sink and you are restraining by force those who would man the pumps. I respect your view that we are rightfully at war, but failing proof to the contrary I shall regard your view as that of an ordinary fallible human being."

Professor Giddings, it is true, does consent to go through the form of examining evidence, but he is judge, jury, prosecutor and witness all in one. And the end of it all is that we are "rightfully at war." No other conclusion is allowed and the Professor consents and justifies a campaign of brutal aggression against those who dare to reach any other conclusion. In other words the position taken by Professor Giddings and thousands of other "democrats" during the war was just as much that of infallibility as has ever been taken by a Roman pontiff.

Let us glance briefly at the evidence produced by the Professor for his conclusion "rightfully at war." It is twofold. In the first place it is contained in certain words of Professor Doctor Werner Sombart, of whom, by the way, not one American in a thousand has ever heard, as follows:

"We will take for ourselves as much territory as seems to us necessary. We shall also set our foot wherever it seems to us important for strategic reasons in order to preserve our unassailable strength."

This quotation, mark you, is half the proof, or at least it is substantial proof that nearly one hundred million Germans were imbued with the desire for world conquest and with an itch to impose upon all other nations their own particular ideas of human conduct. And yet the pacifists are said to use extraordinary arguments!

Let us pass on to the second half of the proof that we were "rightfully at war." This is contained in the words of thirty-five hundred German professors and lecturers, who said: "Our belief is that the salvation of the kultur of Europe depends upon the victory which German militarism is about to achieve." Why does Professor Giddings attach so much importance to the foolish sayings of German professors? Why does he consider similarly foolish words when uttered by American, British, French or other professors, lecturers, clergymen and politicians, relatively innocuous? For the above quotations, as Professor Giddings well knows, can be matched in their foolishness and their national arrogance, by quotations from prominent men in all countries of the earth. In Britain, to cite a few examples, there are Professor J. A. Cramb, the late Lord Roberts, the late Cecil Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling and Lord Milner. In the United States the late Colonel Roosevelt and General Leonard Wood are prominent examples.

And while Professor Giddings in this country was citing German professors in order to keep the American public solidly in the war, the German war party was citing the words of prominent Britons, Americans and Frenchmen in order to keep the German soldiers in the trenches and the German people solidly behind them.

There lives in Canada a well-known Presbyterian divine who has occupied the office of Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, the highest gift, I believe, that Church has to offer. During the war he preached a sermon to prove that the English language would one day be the only language spoken among the nations of the earth. The sermon was reproduced to the extent of two columns in one of the largest daily newspapers of Canada.

This, of course, was clear "Kultur." But was there a popular outcry, or any kind of outcry caused by the preaching of this sermon? Not a muscle twitched in all Canada. Not a Canadian eyelash flickered.

But let us suppose that about the same time some prominent Berlin clergyman had preached a sermon to prove that the German language would one day embrace the earth and displace all other tongues. Is it difficult to picture Professor Giddings and his

friends calling upon heaven to witness the demoniacal obsession of the German nation? What a gem it would have been for them to exhibit to American audiences and lash them into a blind passion against everything German!

I suspect that the thirty-five hundred German professors supported the German cause for the same reasons which prompted ninety-nine per cent of the professors in the Allied countries to support the Allied cause. The Chicago *Tribune* still prints at the head of its editorial column a slogan ending with the words, "But my country, right or wrong." Why is it so much more wicked for German professors to support their country even if wrong, than it would be for American professors to do the same thing, admitting the possibility of this country waging an indefensible war?

Far be it from me to wish to read Professor Giddings out of the ranks of those fighting for human freedom. God knows, there are too few in those ranks already. My trouble is the feeling that Professor Giddings himself deserted the ranks, and deserted them at the very time when they most needed him.

A few years ago it was safe and easy to be a fighter for human freedom. A few years hence it may be safe and easy again. But during this war period there arose the transcendent need for men and women to stand their ground for human liberty and for freedom of conscience. Yet the modern Diogenes would have worn out many lanterns looking for them on the streets of New York City or of any American city.

The great task before us, it seems to me, is the building up of something which will stand when the next great crisis comes. The time to begin building is surely now and it can only be done, in my opinion, by an absolutely ruthless examination of the war phenomena, and by an attempt to discover war's remotest and most secret springs.

A. Vernon Thomas.

The Story of a Rose

In the issue of Unity for September 18th I read with great delight the beautiful and touching poem, "A Rose," by a C. O., H. Austin Simons, of U. S. A. On reading it my mind dwelt upon an incident in which, a rose, a prison and a C. O. were associated. It was my privilege as Unitarian chaplain to visit one of our well-known Unitarian laymen in a prison, he being there under the Defence of the Realm Act. Owing to certain circumstances he was placed in the Hospital Section. As I passed to his cell twice each week, I noticed a sad case of a man suffering from a severe illness. The inner wooden door would often be open, leaving only the outer iron barred gate closed so that I could cast a passing smile as I went by. This seemed to cheer the lonely invalid and one day I found out he belonged to the Jewish faith. It may have been the Jewish Rabbi did not know of the man's case, for one day I asked the sick man how he was in health. He became very interested to learn I visited his Unitarian comrade twice a week, and so he rather pitifully remarked "my Jewish Rabbi never comes to see me. I have no one, and my friends live in Manchester." I told him the rules only allowed me in as a chaplain to visit Unitarians, otherwise my creed was broad enough to include him. Week after week he used to watch for my passing by and he rejoiced to have the friendly greeting.

It happened that I had been one day in a beautiful garden of a friend's house at Holmwood in Surrey, returning to London with a fine bunch of flowers. Knowing the Unitarian I visited was very fond of roses I wore one in my coat on my next visit. This gave great joy but by the rules flowers could not be left behind in the cells. So passing by the sick Jew's cell along with a very kind and humane warder (and this hospital was distinctly blessed by a fine staff of officials) I paused at the iron gate and bid goodbye to the invalid. Turning to the warder I remarked, "What a pity it is one cannot leave this rose behind in the sick man's cell but the rules don't allow it. May I just let the poor fellow hold it and see its beauty and enjoy its perfume?" My request was granted. It will always remain with me—the sight of this weak man using his enfeebled strength to rise up in bed and eagerly grasp with joy and tenderness this one lovely flower. His face lit up with a thousand past happy memories. Further I addressed the warder, "What a pity it is for me to take away this rose. Would I might leave it behind for this man. He seems so happy," and the kindly warder replied, "I don't see why for once you shouldn't do so." Quickly I replied, "Then there will be three happy men this week end. He will be happy, you will be happy, and I shall be happy."

Nothing more was thought about the flower as it had withered away and been removed by my next visit. I did not know what the man's particular error against society was, but I realized the rose had touched the noblest side of his nature.

Some three or four months afterwards I was spending a few days with my friend at his home in Holmwood, Surrey, and he remarked that a young C. O. who had been released from prison, was coming to lunch. The three of us walked round the grounds and finally rested in the rose garden. During the conversation I realized the young C. O. had been resident in the same prison I was visiting. Then it dawned upon him; that we were not strangers, that he had seen me as I went through the hospital corridor. At once he asked me if I remembered one day leaving a rose behind in a Jew's cell. It was his duty to clean the cell of this invalid and he was about to throw away the faded rose when he noticed one leaf still green. It was something living, something at one with nature, amidst the dreariness and monotony it told of creative life, and he could not throw this small leaf away. So he kept it for some time in water, and then pressed it in a book. That leaf he said he still retained on account of its message to him. It was then I told him that by a very curious coincidence he was in the very garden from which the rose was gathered.

Such was the life history of one rose. It had done its work in the world for it carried beauty and joy and hope and life. Your poet's words are true of his rose in Leavenworth as well as of this rose in an English prison.

Kentish Town, London. F. Hankinson.

News from Europe

No Sympathy with Britain.

Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Malone, M.P., who has paid a visit to Russia as an open-minded observer, reports some of his impressions in a *Daily Express* article.

One of his most striking points is his declaration that we cannot depend on the friendship of our allies Koltchak and Denikin. "From our own point of view," he writes, "we must remember that the reactionary leaders have no sympathy with Great Britain. . . . The Tsarist forces are pro-German first, pro-Ally second.

"The Soviet Government," says Colonel Malone, "shows many elements of permanence, and has roots already deeply grown into the minds of the awakened Russian people."

German Economic Difficulties.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* is responsible for the following interesting story which is well worth the earnest attention of the American business man:

The fall of the mark is assuming catastrophic proportions. A financial personality, with whom I have discussed the question, expresses the opinion that the policy of the German Government is as much to blame as the Allied restrictions. The unstable and unfavourable exchange is the primary cause of the unstable industrial condition of the country. The financial basis of industrial agreements is perpetually destroyed by the constant fall of the mark and consequent rising prices, followed by a chain of strikes to redress the balance. The Government handled the situation by the so-called *Zwangwirtschaft.* Maximum prices were fixed for various products, and expensive imported products were put on the market at reduced prices. Quite apart from the burden upon public finance, the result is disastrous. Home production is diverted from the most necessary commodities, for which prices are fixed, to the most profitable fields. Farmers are finding it more profitable to grow oats than wheat, and use potatoes as pig food. Again, wool being free, the tendency is to extend grassland at the expense of the cultivated areas.

Moreover, the low artificial prices drive foodstuffs and other necessaries across the frontier, prohibitive regulations not availing and land frontiers being difficult to guard. Government interference follows, driving business into underground channels. Consequently, a considerable portion of the country's energy is absorbed in the numerous officials required for the enforcement of the regulations and the not less numerous persons engaged in circumventing them. There is an appalling smuggling trade both of exports and imports, but the effect of imported luxuries, though real enough, is probably exaggerated. The worst instance is the import of several million marks' worth of cigarettes, almost exclusively from England and America. Consequently, the first step is a return towards free conditions, reducing automatically the outgrowths of artificial economic life caused by official interference.

For the same reason foreign credits to the German Government are not altogether helpful, especially as they are naturally inadequate and are not productively employed. The soundest assistance towards the restoration of German industry would be in the form of credits to manufacturers and private traders. Such credits could be amply covered by the stock purchased, by raw materials and exportable manufacturers. It is high time that politicians and business men realised the general interest of helping. I have been assured from the most reliable sources that the desire to work is strong and increasing, especially in the provinces but account should be taken of the moral fatigue of a nation which has uselessly spent several years of energy and self-sacrifice. In such circumstances every workless man is a ready recruit for one of the extremist factions.

Peace with Russia?

The *London Daily Herald* is informed on good authority that a proposal for a conference between representatives of the Soviet Goverment of Russia and of the Allies, to be held in a neutral country, and on the lines of the abandoned Prinkipo meeting, is being favourably considered by the British Government.

The Danish newspapers have already announced a meeting at Copenhagen shortly between the Russian Red Cross and the Allied Red Cross organisations; and their subsequent vigorous denials that the meeting will have any political significance are not without interest.

It is well-known that a considerable body of political opinion, in all parties in the House, has been urging the Government to confer with the Russian Soviet, with a view to an early peace.

M. Litvinoff, former Bolshevik Ambassador in London, who was deported to Russia, has (the Central News understands) been appointed by Lenin as head of the Bolshevik mission which will meet the British representatives in Copenhagen, in connection with the negotiations for the release of British subjects in Russia and the granting of safe-conducts.

A Christmas Carol Fable.

The following is a Christmas carol fable which was sent to the London *Spectator*:

The "Bolshie" Wolf sat on the Railwayman's doorstep eating the children's supper, when the Grocer's dog drove him away.

"Mad dog!" yelled the Wolf. "Profiteer! Yah!"

And the Railwayman and the Policeman chased the dog off, while the Wolf ate all the food up.

So that the Railwayman and the children starved.

And the Philosopher said: "Ah! Sometimes he's 'Direct Action,' and sometimes he's 'Protection.' But he's always 'Famine' everywhere!"

"It Is Not Our Job."

Field Marshal Earl Haig of Bemersyde was presented with the freedom of the Borough of Wolverhampton. Before receiving the freedom the Field Marshal was entertained at luncheon by the Mayor. Replying to the toast of his health, Earl Haig expressed regret that the original date of his visit had had to be postponed owing to the railway strike.

"We were busy owing to the strike, but I am proud to think the soldiers had not to be called on at all. It is not our job. We exist to fight an external and not an internal foe."

No Pardon for Cowards.

Lieutenant Ernest Thurtle of the British Forces, has in a letter to the London *Daily Herald* touched upon a matter that threatens to become a burning question in European countries. The letter is as follows:

To the Editor of the *Daily Herald:*

Under the heading "No Pardon for Cowards," the *London Evening News* published a few days ago an announcement that the French Government had refused to pardon military prinsoners guilty of "desertion in face of the enemy."

It would be interesting to learn whether the man responsible for that heading has ever endured the soothing experince of an intensive bombardment. I wonder! If such experience had been his, he would hardly be so severe on the weaker brother.

Not only in French, but in British military prisons as well, there are to-day languishing many of these men who tried and failed, sensitive mortals whose nerves proved unequal to the indescribable strain of the modern battlefield. It may be urged that they are fortunate even to be alive, when so many of their fellows, for similar offences, were shot in cold blood at dawn. Yet the quality of mercy is not strained!

Surely the time has come for civilised Governments to set these unhappy prisoners free. Ex-Service men, almost without exception, want to see these men released. They know too well the strain of modern warfare, and how narrow the margin often was between the man who failed and the man who held firm.

It is the red-tabbed martinets of Whitehall, the armchair-critics of Fleet-street, all that legion, who shrieked jingoism in safety while their countrymen agonised on the battlefields, who insist on their punitive pound of flesh, and who say in callous chorus: "No pardon for cowards."

Can we not " . . . rob these cruel devils of their will"?

ERNEST THURTLE, *Lieutenant.*

H. N. S.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

After eleven years of devoted service Rev. Charles W. Wendte, D.D., asked at the last annual meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals to be relieved from the duties of secretary and treasurer as soon as a successor could be selected. The Council of the Federation has elected Frank H. Burt of Newton, Mass., to fill the vacancy and has chosen Dr. Wendte chairman of the Executive Committee. He will thus continue to keep a guiding hand on the affairs of the Federation, which was organized through his efforts and owes to his wise leadership the success it has attained.

Dr. and Mrs. Wendte are to spend the winter in California, and being relieved from looking after details in connection with the Federation he will devote himself largely to arranging for the seventh International Liberal Congress, which is to be held in Boston, in September, 1920, in commemoration of the Pilgrim tercentenary. In this larger field Dr. Wendte's vision has pointed out a common basis of faith and sympathy among the liberal thinkers of the world, and so brought about the memorable congresses held in six different countries prior to the war. The Boston Congress is expected to bring together a great body of liberals from many lands to join in observing the Pilgrim anniversary. Meantime, the National Federation will do its share in awakening interest in the coming of the international body of which it forms a part.

As indicated in its declared purpose the Federation stands for "a fellowship of the spirit beyond the lines of sect and creed," and membership is open to all. Besides the personal membership there is provision for membership by local churches and religious societies and by the general organizations of particular denominations. In this manner the Federation receives official recognition and support from the American Unitarian Association, the Universalist General Convention, the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends. The president is Jesse H. Holmes, Ph.D., professor of philosophy in Swarthmore College, representing the Friends.

The new secretary, Frank H. Burt, lives at 94 Charlesbank Road, Newton, is a shorthand reporter in Boston and has reported many meetings of liberal organizations, including the National Federation, the American Unitarian Association and the Free Religious Association. He was the official reporter of the International Liberal Congresses at Berlin and Paris (1910 and 1913), and in that capacity made many acquaintances among the liberal religious leaders in various countries. He is a member of Channing Church of Newton, was for many years superintendent of its Sunday-school and is a member of the standing committee of the parish. He has been president and secretary of the Newton Unitarian Club, president of the Boston Unitarian Sunday School Union and a director of the Unitarian Sunday School Society. For many years he was editor of the summer newspaper "Among the Clouds," founded by his father, Henry M. Burt, and printed on the summit of Mt. Washington.

A NEW STATEMENT ABOUT CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

Those who have tried to silence their consciences regarding the conscientious objectors in our federal prisons by assuming that the statements concerning the brutality of their treatment were exaggerated or biased by partisan feeling can no longer hide behind this defense. A statement has just been issued by five officers of the U. S. Army and Navy during the late war which confirms the reports hitherto made. Their statement was made in protest against a resolution from the American Legion for the state of Missouri condemning the "tender treatment" alleged to have been accorded objectors at the federal prisons.

The officers who issue the statement are Richard C. Tolman, Major, Chemical Warfare Service, U. S. A.; Howard O. Eaton, 2nd Lieut., Infantry, U. S. A.; Ralph L. Thomas, Captain, 302 Engineers, A. E. F.; Thomas Guthrie Speers, Chaplain, 102d Infantry, A. E. F.; and Dudley Field Malone, Junior Lieutenant, Naval Overseas Transportation Service, U. S. Navy.

These officers disclaim any share in the convictions which forced the objectors to stand against participation in the war, but feel that in justice to the public the facts should be made known. The statement says:

"As a matter of fact so-called conscientious objectors were treated with great severity and, although the Army officials insisted on their taking their pay when they were discharged, they returned to the War Department $9840.55 and turned over to the Red Cross and other war relief agencies over $20,000, as has been set forth in an official statement by the War Department. We understand that the men imprisoned as conscientious objectors were informed that it would be impossible to complete their discharge papers without their signing for the amount of money technically due them according to the regular rules governing the payment of men as they are discharged."

They point out that at the present time there are approximately 150 Conscientious Objectors held under sentence of long terms in the military prisons at Fort Leavenworth, Alcatraz Island, and Fort Douglas, Utah. The statement continues:

"As to the question of the 'tender treatment' of conscientious objectors, we quote below from a memorandum on that subject inserted in the Congressional Record by the Honorable William E. Mason of Illinois:

"'At Camp Funston a group of conscientious objectors for six weeks were put through a course of the roughest sort of hazing and brutality. They were not allowed to communicate with anyone during this time, and were subjected to physical coercion, struck with whips and dragged about with ropes, etc. Other undenied stories of brutalities have come from Camp Sherman, Camp Meade, Camp Wadsworth, Fort Jay, Fort Riley, and numerous other cantonments.

"'It is true that the War Department did issue a confidential order providing for conscientious objectors, thereby giving color to the charges of special leniency. But in practice this policy worked out both to the disadvantage of the Army and the unnecessary and brutal coercion of objectors. It was the policy which sought ultimately to deal with conscientious objectors as a problem of military discipline. The officers in charge of these men found themselves forced to treat as soldiers men who were determined at all costs not to accept that status. The inevitable result of

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this policy was the coercion of objectors. Any other result under the circumstances would have meant that both officers and objectors were more than human.

"'Finally, over 500 objectors were sent to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, with sentences ranging from 5 to 40 years." (Since this was written, the Clemency Board has reduced sentences so that the longest sentence which a conscientious objector is now serving is probably six years.) "Here some of the objectors who refused to fall in line with the military discipline were kept for over nine weeks in solitary confinement, during most of which time they were manacled, standing, to the bars of their cells nine hours a day, every alternate two weeks being spent on a diet of bread and water. This was done with the express authorization of the War Department, as was tacitly admitted in Secretary Baker's order of December 6, abolishing manacling.

"'In the case of objectors who were finally court-martialed the War Department has insisted upon treating these men as individual recalcitrant soldiers. This has resulted in the fact that today many of them have been realesed on one pretext or another, while others, actually no more radical in their protests against military service, are still in prison.'"

FURTHER NEWS OF TRANSYLVANIA.

The Rev. F. Hankinson sent to the *Inquirer* the following letter, which will further explain to some extent the terrible position of Transylvania under the Roumanian rule, and the danger that threatens our Unitarian churches and fellow worshippers unless England and America demand religious freedom for these oppressed people:

Buda Pest, September 22, 1919.

My dear Sir—May I trouble you by saying a few words? . . . The Roumanians are driving away from the towns all those men and women who entered into State offices during the last eighteen to twenty years. An elementary school teacher, by the way a Unitarian, whom I met yesterday, was forced to leave Kolozsvár before September 18, for if he would not have done it, they would have driven him out and would not allow him to take anything with him. Consequently he had to sell his house, the only savings of some twenty-five years' service. He lost by the bargain not less than 30,000 crowns. Of course the house fell into the hands of a Roumanian. The same is the fate of the properties of hundreds and hundreds in the same place. All the former State schools are occupied by the Roumanians. A Unitarian girl finished the first year's course in a girls' high school, and since she knows not one word of Roumanian she cannot go back to that school. There is no room for her in a similar but Roman Catholic school, and since we Unitarians have no high school there she is forced to stay at home and study privately, which is of course hardly more than nothing. No less than 35,000 inhabitants of Kolozsvár are in this heartbreaking situation. The University is closed to the Hungarians because teaching will be in the Roumanian language, unknown to our students. No professors, not even the one Roumanian who was lecturing on the Roumanian language and literature, are admitted to enter the University. Thus some sixty professors and perhaps more, who worked in the University are without bread and house. No town nor even a village accepts them if they are unable to prove that they have sufficient resources of living. I understand that a Roman Catholic priest was imprisoned for a year because he preached on the rights of the Hungarian nation. Four Unitarian ministers are kept in captivity for some such reason.

Yours truly,

_____.

Estimated Losses of the Hungarian Unitarian Church in Consequence of the Roumanian Invasion:

	Crowns
1. Aid stopped to colleges and high schools. Their professors and teachers received from the State Treasury more than	500,000
2. Loss of salary from the State Treasury of normal school teachers, who also assist the ministers in their duties: 114 teachers, with an average salary of at least 1,400 crowns	160,000
3. Annual State aid for church purposes	50,000
4. Loss of annual income from land estates, employed partly for general church purposes and partly for aid of students in Kolozsvár and Szekely-Kerestur schools. These estates are almost entirely occupied now by the Roumanians, all kinds of investments being taken away or spoiled..	77,000
5. Income of money diminished or entirely stopped: capital, 4,000,000 crowns at 4 per cent	160,000
6. Annual income of Baldachy Protestant Foundation.....	15,000
Total annual loss.....	962,000

This information is supplied from a Hungarian Unitarian official source.

CANDLES THAT BURN.

Candles that burn for a November birthday,
Wreathed round with asters and with goldenrod,
As you go upward in your radiant dying
Carry my prayer to God.

Tell Him she is so small and so rebellious,
Tell Him her words are music on her lips,
Tell Him I love her in her wayward beauty
Down to her finger-tips.

Ask Him to keep her brave and true and lovely,
Vivid and happy, gay as she is now;
Ask Him to let no shadow touch her beauty,
No sorrow mar her brow.

All the sweet Saints that came for her baptizing,
Tell them I pray them to be always near;
Ask them to keep her little feet from stumbling,
Her gallant heart from fear.

Candles that burn for a November birthday,
Set round with asters and with goldenrod,
As you go upward in your radiant dying
Carry my prayer to God.

—*Aline Kilmer.*

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Messrs. James T. White and Company, Publishers of the National Encyclopedia of American Biography, beg to announce the publication of a series of

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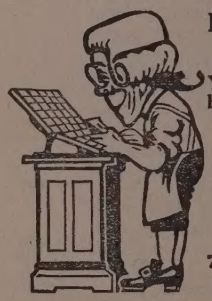

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